Monguor AE9

● 101, 113

[Additional information on the Tu ren may be found in 5: Tafel, AJ1 Tibet, category 116, pp. 418-430.]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 Muslims than the Chinese, and says that their language is a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and unknown words.

After his second journey in Kukunor and Tibet (1879–1880) he writes that the Daldy are called Karlun by the Tibetans and Tunschen by the Chinese and Mongols (p. 186); although he is convinced that the country of origin of the Daldy, like that of the Kirghiz, is the region of Samarkand, and that they are a mixture of the "Aryan" and "Mongol" races, but, having mingled with Chinese, the original type has disappeared; among the women, however, once in a while the genuine type is discernible (p. 188).

He notes also the legend told among the Mongols, that when Chinghis Khan ruled in the Ordos he rode so fast a horse, that in twenty-four hours he could reach Kukunor for a hunting party. Once a high official accompanied Chinghis and when he saw the country of Hsining he enjoyed it so much that he settled there with his subjects and became the founding ancestor of the Daldy tribes (p. 187).

114 ●101 *Potanin*, who traveled in this region in 1884–1886, refers to the Monguors as "Shirongols." He says of them that they call themselves "Mongol" or "Chagan Mongol" (White Mongol) and that some of them call themselves "Chzhahor"[3] (p. 374). The Chinese call them T'u-jen and the Mongols of the plain give them the name of "Dalda" (Doldo), or "Dolon helite doldo," which means the "doldo with seven languages." Potanin says that he prefers to call them Shirongol, because that word is better for use in the Russian language. He had heard this name used in the Ordos by the conductor of his caravan, "Santan Dzhimba," who himself belonged to the T'u-jen group of Amdo. However, neither "Shirongol" nor "Dalda" is a name known by the Monguors themselves. Only Santan Dzhimba used the name "Shirongol," explaining "Shiro" as related to "Shoro," the Mongol word for "earth" or "soil." The neighboring Tanguts, according to Potanin, called the Monguors "Cha-hor"; "Cha" meaning "Chinese" and "Hor" being the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet. This term would therefore mean "Chinese Mongols." The Shirongols call the Tanguts "Tebe" ("Tubet" is the Mongol word for "Tibetan"); they call the Chinese Ch'itai (Kitat is the Mongol form); and the Mongols of the plain "Doro gadzoren Mongol"

---

[2] Prjevalski, *Mongolie et le pays des Tangoutes*, 172–173, 1880; Prjevalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 186–187–188, Jena, 1884. For the original passages in Russian, see: N. M. Prjevalskii, *Mongoliya i strana Tangutov*, 199–200, Moscow, State Publishers, 1946; a reprint described as "slightly abridged," of the original St. Petersburg edition of 1875; the reprint edition has a commentary by E. M. Murzaev (see p. 315 for his notes on the "Daldy" or Monguors). The second reference is to: *Iz Zaisana cherez Khami v Tibet i na Verkhoi'ya Zheltoi reki*, also available in a "slightly abridged" edition (Moscow, State Publishers, 1948) of the St. Petersburg edition of 1883; see pp. 264–265 of the reprint edition.—O. L.

[3] This is the term rendered by Huc and Gabet as "Dschiahour" (see above). See also below, p. 23, n. 1.—O. L.

[p.24a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114
101

(Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Setsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

114
173

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

[p. 24b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

600 the residue being Tibetan, Chinese and to the best of my knowledge a heretofore unknown lingo, probably the original language of the Tu-jen of this part of the Empire (p. 106).[5]

114 In his *Land of the Lamas* the same author asserts that the Dschiahours of the Three Valleys encountered by Huc and Gabet are White Mongols, whose early home •101 was probably in the Ordos (p. 43). He quotes the *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung T'u* (eighteenth century) as mentioning a number of Mongol tribes living in the southern portion of the Nienpei district in Sanch'uan. The same work mentions (5: 55) a tribe called Tungkou living in the same district whose chieftains bear the family name of Li and who descend from Li K'oyung, a Shat'o Turk and famous warrior of the T'ang period (p. 44). Rockhill also quotes from the dynastic history of the T'ang dynasty the tribal name Kolu, which he identifies with the Karluk Turks, northeast of the present Urumchi, in Sinkiang. These Kolu submitted to the Tibetans, and Rockhill believes that they may be the later "Tungkou," suggesting that *tung* is Chinese for "eastern," and *kou* a contraction of "Koulu," a variant of "Kolu" (p. 45).[6]

Among the more recent travelers, the region was visited by *W. Filchner* and *A. Tafel*. In 1906 Filchner published an account of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum, the value of the volume consisting chiefly in the photographic material.[7] Tafel, although he gives interesting data about the "T'u-ren," and mentions the legends of their T'uyühun, Shat'o, or Hsi Hsia origin (p. 248), mentions their submission to the Ming and notes that the Li T'u-ssu is the most outstanding among the T'u-ssu (p. 250), does not solve the problem.[8]

Comte de Lesdain, in his journey from China through the Ordos to Tibet and India, described the country as "inhabited by the old aborigines of Kansu province, who are the most authentic remainder of the primitive race from which the Chinese spring."[9]

P. K. Kozlow, who traveled in 1907–1909, wrote of the "Donger-wa" or "people of Donger," namely, the Monguors, that they might have originated as a mixed breed of Chinese and Tanguts, and that their language was closely akin to Mongol, but with an admixture of Chinese and Tangut words.[10]

---

[5] W. W. Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet, 1891–1892*, 73–106, Washington, Smithsonian Instn., 1894.

[6] W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the lamas*, New York, 1891.

[7] W. Filchner, *Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet*, Berlin, Mittler, 1906; also *Om mani padme hum; meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925–28*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1929.

[8] A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Stuttgart, Union deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1914.

[9] *From Pekin to Sikkim through the Ordos, the Gobi desert, and Tibet*, New York, Dutton, 1908.

[10] P. K. Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Charachoto*, 136, Berlin, Neufeld und Henius, 1925. The original Russian edition is: P. K. Kozlov, *Mongoliya i Amdo i mertvyi gorod Khara-Khoto*, Moscow-Petrograd, State Publishers, 1923, reprinted 1948.

[P. 25-6]

1; Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

114 •101 *Reginald Farrer*, who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," "pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair." [11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion." [12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 173 The Monguors have, however, been as much an enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addition that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they

173

[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* 8: 316, 1925.

1: Schram, N-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

173 originally three brothers: Hor, also known as Kerker; Kerrur, and Kersur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols; the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–620), having defeated the T'uyühun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

• 101 The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak

[P. 28a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

101 the same language, have the same customs, dress in the same way, live in the same country, have the same T'u-ssu organization and so generally are considered to be of the same stock.

The Chinese when speaking of Hsifan (Tibetans), or of other Mongols living in the country or in Kukunor, never use the term T'u-jen, but always the terms Hsifan, etc. The question, therefore, is whether the Chinese, in calling the Shat'o and the Monguors T'u-jen, mean a people belonging by birth to the country but whose ancestors migrated from other countries to Hsining, or the original inhabitants of the country. Because the term has this double meaning, it is certainly used in both meanings.

Huc and Gabet call the Monguors Dschiahour, interpreted as "sinised Mongols." This is the term used by the Tibetans of the country. Prjevalski and Father de Smedt heard Tibetans calling them K'arlong. Potanin calls them Shirongols. Father Mostaert heard Mongols in Mongolia referring to them as Dolot; Prjevalski calls them Daldy (the same word), and the Monguors call themselves Monguor. Potanin states that they are also called White Mongols, and Chzhahor. According to Father A. Mostaert the name Monguor is merely a variant of the name Mongol. In the Monguor language, words which in other Mongol dialects end with an *l*, end with an *r*. The written sources and the tradition, however, clearly establish the fact that not all of the Monguors are of Mongol origin. There are no data, however, to explain the process by which the Shat'o group lost its original Turkish language and adopted that of the Monguors. There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that the name T'u-jen, by which the Chinese call the Monguors, is incorrect since in ancient and medieval times the region now inhabited by the Monguors was intermittently and alternatingly occupied by various tribes. The explanation of the Chinese term is, however, sufficiently obvious. The Chinese military colonists transplanted to the region at the opening of the Ming dynasty must have assumed that the Monguor "natives" whom they found there were "aborigines" who had always been there.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONGUORS

197 The language of the Monguors has been studied by the Fathers A. Mostaert and A. de Smedt.[15] Father A. Mostaert writes me:

> The language spoken by the Monguors is a Mongol dialect, with peculiar archaic characteristics concerning both the phonetic and the vocabulary.

[15] A. De Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kan-su occidental. Ire partie: Phonétique.*, *Anthropos*, Vienna, Leo-Gesellschaft **24**: 145–164 et 801–815; **25**: 637–665 et 961–973; **26**: 253. *IIme partie. Grammaire.* Monumenta Serica Monograph **6**, Peking, Catholic Univ., 1945. *IIIme partie: Dictionnaire Monguor-Français*, Publication de l'Université Catholique de Pekin, Peiping, 1933. A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu and their language, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking* **8**, 1931.

[p. 28-b]

9. The Hsia clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24. They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

[P. 32-b]

2: Schram--1 M-4.5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

/1/

Introduction

101 This study deals with marriage among the T'ou-jen /T'u-jên/ of Kansu. The T'ou-jen in question occupy the north side of Sining River, in the prefecture of Sining and the subprefecture of P'ing-fan (Lien-tch'eng).

114 We hope to have this monograph followed by others, which will deal with the history of the T'ou-jen, their religions, social, and political life. Our sources for the history of this people are the great history of China, the chronicles of the towns of Kansu, and the family chronicles of one of the most powerful T'ou-jen groups, which extend over a period of more than five hundred years; our sources for the ethnology are the notes collected during the course of about ten years spent in T'ou-jen country.

144 162 Of the T'ou-jen of whom we write one group is very probably of Turkish race, and the other, without doubt, is of Mongol race. The first, of the clan of Li t'ou-se, are said to be /2/ originally Cha-t'ouo /Sha-t'o/ (1) who immigrated to the region in the T'ang period

1. Aur. Stein, Serindia, Vol. 2, p. 1129: Kao-chu-hui, when describing the journey along this border, of the Chinese mission which started from Khotan in 938, tells us: Kan-chow is the camping place of the Hui-ho (Uigurs). The mountains which are about 100 li to the south (direction of Si-ning; the principal habitat of the T'ou-jen is four days from Kan-chow /Kan-tcheou/) are the territory where in the time of the Han dynasty there resided the ancient people called the little Yueh-chih. There is a race different from this people called Cha-t'ouo from the mountains of the deer forest. They are said to be descended from the Ch'u yueh race (ex. Rémusat, Ville de Khotan /City of Khotan/;

/2 cont'd/

144
162

Chavannes, Turcs Occidentaux /Western Turks/). The Cha-t'ouo to whom Kao-chu-hui's relation refers here, were a tribe of the western Turcs first settled in early times to the east of Barkoul, and after A.D. 808 transferred to the northern borders of Kan-sou, for the sake of protecting them from inroads. /Cited in English, with one interpolation in French indicated by underline./

(620-905); the chronicles of Sining confirm this tradition. The last group came to live in the area either in the Yüan period (1280-1368) or the Ming (1368-1644).

101
197
[113]

These two groups speak the same language today, called Monguor by them. The language is very archaic; it reflects the Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Let us call to the attention of those who are interested in the question of the T'ou-jen language the study of Fathers Mostaert and De Smedt published in Anthropos, XXIV-XXV, "Le dialecte monguor, parlé par les Mongols du Kan-sou occidental /The Monguor Dialect, spoken by the Mongols of Western Kansu/." The grammar and the dictionary are in press.

The Cha-t'ouo of whom we speak are then Mongolized today. It should be pointed out that the notions of race and language are subject to caution.

622
648

The T'ou-jen, subject to China, have kept their autonomy under chiefs of their race, recognized by China and called t'ou-se. The Chinese Republic, from its beginning, has shown itself hostile to this autonomous administration and has tried to treat the T'ou-jen as Chinese, subject to the jurisdiction of the mandarins of the place.

177

The ways and customs of the T'ou-jen, although influenced by the proximity of the Chinese and the Tibetans, have remained relatively pure. They reveal many a secret of their former social organization and of their nomadic life of yesteryear.

2: Schram--3 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

115 The speech extracts which appear in the present study have
191 been furnished by a T'ou-jen master of ceremonies who was accustomed to preside over the marriage ceremonies in the region. The fact that nearly all the T'ou-jen men speak Chinese more or less is what explains the use of this language, as well as the use of Chinese proverbs, in the course of the marriage ceremonies. Most of the philological notes in the present monograph were furnished by Fathers
104 Mostaert and De Smedt. The transcription of Monguor is the one used by the same Fathers, who adopted the general alphabet of Anthropos (Anthr. XXIV-V), but simplified. The transcription of the Chinese is the romanization adopted by the Variétés.

101 The term T'ou-jen is used by the Chinese of "Sining" to desig-
104 nate the people or peoples of the region who speak the Monguor language and who are under the jurisdiction of a t'ou-se. The term T'ou-jen means "aboriginal."

Although the peoples in question are certainly not the first inhabitants of the country, we have nevertheless thought we should adopt this improper term because it is in current use "in the country" and is used there to designate only this people. The term T'ou-jen is therefore here a people's name. The Tibetans, the Mongols, and the Salar of the country are not T'ou-jen in the eyes of the inhabitants of Sining. Besides, the local chronicles, as well as those of Liang-tcheou and Lan-tcheou use the same term when they deal with this people.

[P.4 is blank]

/15 cont'd/

101

When I had just arrived in the region of Sining and before I had studied the question of the T'ou-jen, an old T'ou-jen from Choang-niou-keou (region of Lien-tch'eng) told me that, according to an old tradition, the T'ou-jen had come from Yunnan and from Kweichow to fight the Tibetans of the Sining region. This piece of information was responsible for my reading the study concerning the Miao in Anthropos. It is historically certain that the T'ou-jen we are writing about did not come from either Yunnan or Kweichow: but according to the Hoa-i-i-iu (note communicated by Father Mostaert), we know that the Mongols who were subdued in the reign period of Hung-wu /1368-98/ in the Ming period waged war in southwest China: Thus it is possible that among the T'ou-jen there are Mongols whose ancestors waged war on Yunnan....This fact may provide an explanation for this tradition. We shall deal with this subject in a study on the history of the T'ou-jen.

A brief glance at the Miao peoples has become indispensable since the studies of Father Wilhelm Koppers, "Tungusen und Miao, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Komplexitaet der altchinesischen Kultur /The Tungus and Miao, A Contribution to the Problem of the Complexity of Ancient Chinese Culture/," Mitt. d. anthrop. Ges., Vienna, Vol. 60, 1930, pp. 306-319, as well as the one in Anthropos, 1930, p. 981, "Die Frage des Mutterrechtes und des Totemismus im alten China /The Question of Mother-Right and Totemism in Ancient China/."

/110 cont'd/

587 come the incoherences we have been able to establish in the present-day rites of the marriage of widows. Neither should the existence of the practice of abduction of widows be supposed for this period. It is therefore natural to conclude that, for all this period, the marriage of girls is to be considered as the only and true marriage, and that the practice of abduction existed only for them. This fact has its importance again in the question of polygamy among the T'ou-jen, because it explains a special category of polygamy still practiced nowadays. The T'ou-jen, no longer having any recollection of this institution which existed among his ancestors, today seeks an arbitrary explanation for this problem.

- - -

101 /111/ Northern and central Asia has been the theater of numerous migrations, peaceful and otherwise, in historic and prehistoric times, of peoples having extremely varied social organizations. From this come the analogies and the ethnological borrowings ascertained among the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and among the "middle and western Eurasians."

114 I summarize in this place the monumenta ethnographica which shed a new light on the chapter on "marriage by purchase" among the T'ou-jen, whose ancestors, Mongols and Cha-t'ou, were nomads.

For this purpose I use the judicious-inclusive study of Dr. Herbert König, "Das Recht der Polarvölker, IV. Das Eherecht der Polarvölker," Anthropos (1928-29).

583 771 Anthropos, 1929, p. 101, Bride Price /Brautkauf/ among the Central and Western Eurasians ... Bride-price marriage coincides in distribution almost exactly with the peoples in the polar region who have an aristocratic social organization. It is specifically reported and described in detail for the Tungus, Jakut, Samojed, Ostjak, and Lapps, and, to be sure, as a unique way of concluding marriage. Page 104. The picture

/171 cont'd/

L 582 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/ Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Mo [101] 121 Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

3: Schröder--1 M-5,(1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[4]

First Part: The Religious Customs

1. Introduction*

*The designations (1), (2), (3), etc. do not appear as footnotes in this work, but as independent subsections, and each time under the heading "Notes." Cf. p. 17 [of the foreign text] in this chapter. [In the translation these notes will be incorporated as footnotes; hence the independent subsections with the heading "Notes" (Anmerkungen) will be eliminated.]

1. The Name of the Tujen

In the European literature the people of the group under consideration are usually called Tujen (Turen, T'ou-jen, T'u-jen). This is also the name usually given them by the Tsinghai Chinese. Tujen means native, man of the place. The Chinese t'u signifies place, soil, earth; jen signifies human being, man, people. The Chinese have given them this [5] name because at the time of their immigration these people were already present. They also apply this name to other peoples of the frontier region, for example, in Szechwan; no ethnic designation is expressed by it. This should not be taken to mean, however, that the Tujen are in fact the first inhabitants of that region, as P. A. Volpert has done; cf. Volpert, "Etwas über die T'u-yen, Ureinwohner Westkansus [Something about the T'u-yen, the original inhabitants of West Kansu]," (Anthropos, 18/19, 1923/24). According to their tradition, they likewise immigrated, but before the Chinese.

For the rest, the following names are also used: Dalden, Dolden, Daldy (Przewalski; Grum-gržimajlo, and others); furthermore, Dchiahour (Huc and Gabet); Kansu-Mongols, Mongols of Kansu (De Smedt and A. Mostaert); Monguor (De Smedt and Mostaert). A. Mostaert would like to derive the

[5 cont.]

101 word "Dalden" from the Mongolic "Golot," with which the Mongols designate the Tujen; cf. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu, p. 84; DMF, p. II (1).

The Tujen refer to themselves as Moṅǧol kun (Mongolic people) or tsiǧan Moṅǧol (White Mongols) in contrast to the other Koko Nor Mongols, whom they call xara Moṅǧol (Black Mongols). The name Monguor, introduced by P.A. Mostaert, goes back to this self-designation; the dialectal variant set down by him pronounces the l like r and has a slight u sound before the open o. The neighboring Tangut use the name Karlaṅ for the Tujen, which evidently is of Tibetan origin. In the geography of the sMin-'Gyur (Min-chu)-Hutuktu, written in Tibetan, the Tujen tribe is called rGya-Hor, pronounced Dyahor, which is thus the same designation as that used by Huc and Gabet. Even today this expression is still in use among the people, who render it with the crude Chinese word tsa-chung (mixed seed), bastard.

All these names have given rise to various explanatory theories, which do not belong here. No designation is entirely unambiguous. The nearest to this might be Chiahor and Monguor, but since Tujen is the commonest, this name will be used here. The most suitable, however, would be to adopt the self-designation of the Tujen: White Mongols.

2. The Distribution of the Tujen

131 The principal area of distribution of the Tujen in the present Tsinghai Province lies south of the Richthofen Mountains, that is, in the triangle formed by the Sining and Taitung rivers. The heart of this triangle is formed by the northern side valleys of the Sining River, namely, the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan, the Ha-la-chih-kou, the Hung-nai-tzu-kou, and the Shui-mo-kou. Almost the entire region belongs to the town Huchu, which is located in the upper reaches of the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan. Aside from the county of Huchu, the Tujen are settled predominantly in the county of Minho, and in smaller groups in the counties of Lotu, Tatung, and Kungho. The Tujen themselves call the area they inhabit Amdo (Tibetan). Their total number cannot

[101] 000

[8 cont.]
114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
● 101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger [776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE
Piao-ch'i Chiang chun, Sire Hsien of the third generation 95
Chien, Sire Ching Lu of the fourth generation .. 96
Lin, Sire the Governor of the fifth generation .. 97
Chin, Sire Pacifier of the Mongols, of the sixth generation 98
Tung, Sire Chao I of the seventh generation 99
Kuang Tsu, Sire Kuang Lu of the eighth generation 99
Yung Ch'ang, Sire Ching Ti of the ninth generation 100
Commandant Sire Hung of the tenth generation 101
Ti-hsin, Kao-tsu Chao-yung, the great-great-grandfather of the eleventh generation 101
Hua-lin, Sire Wu Kung, the great-grandfather (tseng-tsu) of the twelfth generation 102
Feng-chu, Sire Wu I, the grandfather of the thirteenth generation 103
Fan, Sire Wu Kung, the father of the fourteenth generation .....

I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

The Mongols, commanded by General Subudei, invaded the region of Huangchung in 1227 and invested the city of Hsining, which they conquered (*Annals* of Hsining 31B: 8a and *Annals* of Kansu 46: 20a).

In order to understand conditions in Huangchung at the time of the Mongol conquest it is necessary to take notice of the peculiar geographical conditions of the country, and to bear in mind the circumstances which had caused the presence in Huangchung in 1227 of the remnants of so many T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang tribes, of many thousands of Uighurs and of many Shat'o tribes. The social organization of this heterogeneous population and the ways in which it behaved will explain the policy adopted by the Mongol dynasty, followed by the Ming dynasty (1368), continued during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) and even during more than ten years under the Republic (1911).

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS

The Province of Kansu is divided geographically into three parts: West Kansu, Huangchung, and East Kansu, separated from one another by the range of the Southern Mountains (Nan Shan) and the Yellow River, both running in a northeasterly direction. The Nan Shan range separates West Kansu from Huangchung, and the Yellow River separates Huangchung from East Kansu.

West Kansu, a long narrow strip, a corridor situated between the bases of the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert, is of primary importance because through that country runs the old transcontinental silk trade road, already opened in the second century B.C.[1] and because

[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier. II. Their religious life, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1): 9, 1957 (hereafter referred to as Monguors II).

[P. 6 (A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

PAGE 000
Chi Hsun of the fifteenth generation 105
K'ung Chao of the sixteenth generation 106
Wan Ch'ing, the Cheng-wei Chiang-chun of the seventeenth generation 106
Foundation of a second clan within the Lu clan ... 107
The Pa-chih-han clan 108
The T'o Huan clan on the brink of disaster 108
The seceders from the T'o Huan clan in 1645 109
Social status of chiefs of groups of seceders from the clan 109
Seceders in the Lu clan in 1645 110
Second group of seceders 110
Group of Lu Chih-ting, third group of seceders 111
Group of Lu Kuo-yin, the fourth group 111
Group of Lu San-ch'i, the fifth group 112
The disintegrated Lu clan 112
The clan members and the seceders 114
Conclusion 114
The glory of the Monguor clans in Huangchung .. 115
Index 117

I. HISTORY OF THE MONGUOR CLANS IN HUANGCHUNG

this road was the only one which secured communication between the Chinese capital and its western colonies. Until 1882 Turkistan was a part of Kansu Province. Military colonies had been established along this long corridor between 140 and 86 B.C. in order to protect the communications against the turbulent Turkish barbarians of the Gobi and the savage Tibetans. Passes running through the Nan Shan secured communications between West Kansu and Huangchung.

In A.D. 872 Kanchow, one of the oldest colonies situated in the corridor, became the seat of the Uighur Khanate.[2] Uighur princes ruled in Kanchow until 1028. At that time their realm was conquered by the Hsi-hsia. The Mongols occupied the country in 1227.[3]

East Kansu is separated from Huangchung on the west by the Yellow River, on the east it is bounded by

[2] James Russell Hamilton, *Les Ouighours a l'époque des Cinq Dynasties, Bibliothèque de L'institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* 10: 14, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1955. Uighurs (called Huei-hou, Hue-ho) of Hunnic origin belong to the group of the Tolos tribes (p. 1). Their empire in Mongolia, which lasted from 745 until 840, controlled the region from Manchuria to the Altai and the territory of the Karluk in the T'ien Shan; its capital (Karabalgason) was situated on the Orkhon River. At the time of the destruction of their empire at the hands of the Khirgiz, a group of Uighurs fled into the region situated between Ku Ch'a and Besbalik in Turkistan (p. 18). It offered its offices to the Chinese army (Kuei-yi-chun) of General Chang Yi-ch'ao, garrisoned in the prefecture of Sha Chou. It fought the Tibetans in combination with the Chinese (p. 13), and in 872 these Uighurs, allies of the Chinese, settled in Kanchow. Others settled in Shi Chou (Karakhodjo), and so the northern part of Turkistan had become an Uighur country (pp. 14, 15, 16). The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762-763. They were the educators of the Turco-Mongol peoples from the ninth to the thirteenth century (p. 6).

[3] Edw. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 5: 215, 1904. O. Franke, *Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches* 2: 493, 501, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

[P. 6(B)]

[Text continues on P. 8(B)]

5: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

102
101

MAP OF CHINA SHOWING MONGUOR REGION (INSET SQUARE) AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES AND PROVINCES.

[P.8(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 the province of Shensi, and on the south by the province
101 of Szechwan. During the period of the Han Dynasties, 202 B.C. until A.D. 220, Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes roamed with their herds in the northern part of Tibet and Kokonor, in large parts of Shensi Province and East Kansu, and on the borders of Szechwan, Hupei, and Shansi Provinces.[4]

East Kansu had always been a region of momentous military importance, on account of its proximity to the city of Sian, situated in Shensi Province, which many times had been the capital of the empire, and on account of the impending threat of invasions on the part of the Tang-hsiang (Tibetan) tribes, whose cradle was situated in Sung P'an in North Szechwan, along the southern boundary of Shensi, where practically no boundaries were defined. The forays of Tibetans used to pass through East Kansu. Today, a city still exists called

[4] Wolfram Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas*, 67, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 101 Ti Tao, which means "the way of the barbarians," and is a reminder of these fateful days.[5] It was in order to cope with this crucial problem that so many Chinese military colonies had been established in East Kansu during the Tang dynasty, the Wu Tai (or Five Dynasties), and the Sung and Ming dynasties, and that intermittently new colonies and fortresses had to be built in order to stem the invasions and revolts of Tanghsiang, T'u-fan, Hsi Hsia, and Mongols.[6] The Mongols at the time of their conquest of China had a lot of trouble in East Kansu and West Shensi, subduing the Tibetan and Uighur tribes which during the previous dynasties had submitted to China but whose loyalty and dependence always remained questionable.

[711]

[5] See the remarkable study of Owen Lattimore, *The frontier in history*, X Congresso internazionale di Science Storiche, Roma, 4: 11, Settembre 1955. Relazioni 1: 106, Firenze, 1955.

[6] Franke, *op. cit.* 3: 22, 1937. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 12. In 1096 more than fifty forts and colonies had been built against the Hsi Hsia in one year.

[P. 8(c)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Huangchung is bounded on the north by the Chi Lien Shan, a range of lower mountains which constitutes the northern end of the Nan Shan range. Being less high and abrupt, it provides an easy access to the countries of Ninghsia, Ordos, and Mongolia. In order to prevent the junction of the barbarians of Mongolia with those of Huangchung, the Chinese General Ho Ch'u-ping, in 116 B.C. (Monguors I: 19) established the first colonies in Huangchung. It was along the natural depressions in the Chi Lien range that the Tibetans many times invaded the country of the Ninghsia, Ordos, and Shansi borders, and that Mongols made inroads from Ordos into Huangchung and Kokonor. On the south side no high mountains or large rivers separate Huangchung from Kokonor and Tibet, through which many roads provide access to Central Asia.

Geographically, Huangchung, bounded by the large Yellow River on the south and east, by low mountains on the north, and spreading wide open toward the southwest facing Kokonor and Tibet, seems to be a peninsula of Kokonor and Tibet protruding into China. Huangchung being more remote from the capital of the empire than East Kansu, the threat of inroads from the empire was apparently less imminent; and the importance of its trade being not comparable with that of the colonies situated in the corridor of West Kansu across the Nan Shan range, fewer colonies had been established there than in East Kansu. Every time rebellions or dynastic troubles occurred in China, the Tibetans of Kokonor helped their brothers of Huangchung destroy the colonies; however, as long as the empire was at peace and its military power intimidated the restless Tibetans, Chinese officials could proceed with collecting the tribute of horses from the tribes governed by their own chiefs, and the ways leading to Kokonor could be guarded.

The whole of Kansu, populated by barbarians, was for centuries considered as a colony and not as a province proper. Only in 1665 was the province of Kansu established, and even up to the Republic (1911) Kansu was ruled together with Shensi by a viceroy. Only since 1928 has the province of Ch'inghai been established, encompassing Huangchung and a part of Kokonor.

THE POPULATION OF HUANGCHUNG AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST BY THE MONGOLS

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE TANG PERIOD

In 1227 when the Mongols conquered Huangchung, the country was inhabited by depleted tribes of Tibetans, Uighurs, and Shat'o, without cohesion among them. The country had passed through the ordeal of centuries of wars, and the Chinese colonies had long since vanished.

The Tang dynasty (620–906) had been unable to

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

× 175 cope with the turbulent empire of the T'u-fan contem-
648 poraneously founded in Lhasa, whose floods of untamed hordes had poured ceaselessly into the regions of Sung P'an in northwest Szechwan, and up into Kokonor, Shensi, and Kansu Provinces. Srong-btsan sgam-po, who had united the T'u-fan tribes into a nation, died in 650. He is credited with having initiated his subjects in Buddhism and in the Indian and Chinese civilizations.[7] Three times, in 730, 783, and 821, the Tang emperors had made treaties with the T'u-fan, fixing the limits of both empires.[8] The text of the last treaty,
[131] chiseled on a slab, is still preserved in Lhasa.[9] In Huangchung, in the village of Topa, 60 li west of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 7) and northwest of the city of Tatung (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 17) still exist steles fixing the western limits of Huangchung. The texts are now indecipherable, except for a few characters.

× 175 The T'u-fan hordes smote upon the region of Sung
162 P'an, in northwest Szechwan, the cradle of the Tibetan Tang-hsiang tribes. In 627 two groups of Tang-hsiang tribes, for fear of the invaders, fled to East Kansu. One group, called Tung-shan-pu, settled in the region of the modern Ch'ing-yang fu in East Kansu; the other group, called P'ing-hsia-pu, settled in the region of Mi Chih, in northwest Shensi. The leading tribe of the last group was the Topa, formerly pressed by the T'u-fan, which had submitted to the T'u-yu-hun.[10]

× 175 The P'ing-hsia-pu tribes of Shensi, during the revolt
648 of Nan Lu Shan (756–764), had helped save the tottering throne of the Tang dynasty. Their chief had been
101 rewarded with the name of the dynasty, Li, and the administration of some districts had been granted to the group. During the internal troubles which several times beset the empire, the P'ing-hsia-pu group had laid the foundation of its own Hsi Hsia Kingdom, and from 982 on it had considered itself strong enough to antagonize the Sung dynasty (960–1280), openly embarking on the conquest of Kansu and Shensi Provinces. The Hsi Hsia realm vanished at the hands of the Mongols in 1226.[11] Not only did these groups of Tang-hsiang tribes submit to China but, in A.D. 631, 300,000 more Tang-hsiang surrendered, pressed by the T'u-fan, and were settled in East Kansu and on the Shensi borders, where sixteen districts were established by the emperor in the countries assigned to them, garrisons established, and Chinese military officials appointed (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 53*a*).

[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 373.
[8] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 437, 480, 484.
[9] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 484. Li Fan-koei. Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treaty 821–822. *T'oung Pao* 64: 1 sq., 1956.
[10] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 132. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bulletin École Française Extrême Orient* 64: 228, Paris, 1956. Peter Olbricht, Die Tanguten und ihre Geschichte bis zur Grundung von Si-hia. *Central Asiatic Journal* 2: 143. The T'opa founders of the Hsi Hsia might be of Sien-pi origin, 154.
[11] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 133, 134.

[P.9(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

X175 648 101

In Kokonor T'u-fan hordes attacked the T'u-yu-hun in 634, and drove them out of the country in 672. The T'u-yu-hun, nomad tribes of Sien-pi origin, had been settled in Kokonor since A.D. 280 and, facing extermination after decades of savage wars with the T'u-fan, succeeded in being transplanted by the Chinese in 672 into the region of Ling Wu (Ninghsia) in Ming-sha hsien.[12]

Huangchung (Hsining region) was already invaded by T'u-fan in 629. The T'u-fan administered several crushing defeats to the Chinese troops on the Kokonor borders, in Huangchung and in East Kansu. After the resounding victory of the T'u-fan in 678, the Tang-hsiang tribes settled previously in East Kansu, despairing of the aid and protection of the emperor, submitted to the T'u-fan, and with them fought the Chinese troops, devastating the country. These disastrous events continued indefinitely. The emperor having fled from his capital in 756 on account of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang of East Kansu combined, captured in 763 the capital of the empire, burned the palaces, and looted the city and the neighboring country. The whole of Kansu was lost. The Tsan-p'u of Lhasa appointed his T'u-fan officials and military commanders in Huangchung and East Kansu.[13] The rebellion of the Chinese governors against the emperor had started in 783 and lasted until 787. In 783 the thread of destruction hanging like a Damocles sword over the dynasty, the emperor concluded the negotiation of a treaty with the Tsan-p'u, already initiated in 780. The T'u-fan would help the emperor out of his difficulty and be rewarded with four more prefectures situated southeast of P'ing-liang in East Kansu. The T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang had helped recover the lost capital in 784, but the Chinese refused to give up the four prefectures. The enraged Tibetans furiously invaded the Wei Valley, occupied Yen and Hsia Chou in Shensi and the whole region inside the Yellow River bend, looting and laying waste the countryside. Adding to the frustration of the Chinese, Tibetan armies administered the most crushing defeat to them in Turkistan in 791. Except for Turfan, Turkistan was lost to the Chinese. In 822 there followed the humiliating treaty by which China renounced its rights over Turkistan, over the whole of Kansu and some parts of Shensi. However, forays by savage Tibetan tribes did not cease.[14]

---

[12] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 397. Schram, Monguors I: 19. *Annals* of Kansu 45: 55a. R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. École Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 223.

[13] The Tsan-p'u was the representative of the T'u-fan hierarchy; he presided over the tribes who had pledged allegiance or had been subdued; he was the arbiter of the frequently conflicting interests arising among them. The stronger the repute of the Tsan-p'u the richer the pillages to be expected, and the stronger were the bonds which tied the nation together.

[14] *Annals* of Kansu 45: 51, 62. Ch'u T'ang Shu, 146: 3–5. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 398, 399, 433, 439, 466, 469, 480, 484. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 25–30.

[P. 10(A)]

S
563 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found
141 in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat
142 and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S
563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S
563 4. History

105 The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats
S of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they
[167] have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S
563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S
563 5. The leagues

631 The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

B. The Mongols of Kansu

N
*563 1. The Mongours
101
M
• [101] a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours
N
*563 have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours
*175 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir-
[167] teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already
M settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)
175 was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the
[167] experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

S
19 but before *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bičig "letter, writing"	bitšĭg (or bitšɪg)
čimŭgen "hammer"	tšimgn̥
čiraɣ "face"	tširə̄

5) The Common Mongolian *e became *ŏ in certain positions:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
ebŭsŭn "hay"	ŏwsn̥
ebŭddg "knee"	ŏwdᵊg
ebedčin "disease"	ŏwtšn̥
elgŭ- "to hang"	ŏlgə̆-

6) The Written Mongolian (old Mongolian) diphthongs have developed into long vowels in the Kalmuck language:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
dalbaɣai "large and flat"	dalwaɣā
duldui "iron rod"	duldū
gei "handle of an axe"	gē
moɣai "snake"	moɣā
alɣui "name of a plant"	alɣū

7) The Common Mongolian vowels have developed into front vowels before the Common Mongolian *i:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
bari- "to seize"	bär-
qari- "to come back"	χär-
sayin "good"	sän

N
*563 B. The Monguor Language
[197] One of the strangest Mongolian languages is Monguor, because
M it preserves still some Middle Mongolian peculiarities and also
[197] because it is under the influence of initial forms which are characteristic of Tibetan. Those Mongols who call themselves Monguors live in the Chinese province of Kansu and practice nomadic animal
M breeding as well as some agriculture. The Chinese call them
[101] Tu-jen. The Mongols of the Mongolian People's Republic call
[361] them Dolot. The sub-group of San-chuan Mongols (Monguor) live north of Kuan-ting. The Santa live south of the Yellow River and east of Tao-ho. The sub-group of the Shera-Yogur live around Kan-chou, Su-chou and Tun-huang. All these tribes are Buddhists with the exception of the Santa, who have become converted to Islam. Culturally the Monguors, at least partially, appear to be mongolized Turksand Tibetans.

M
19 The following observations may be made about the Monguor language:

1) The Monguor language has preserved the Common Mongolian *p or *φ as *f and as *χ:

9